DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 455 085 RC 023 108

AUTHOR Portes, Pedro R.; Zady, Madelon F.
TITLE Cultural Differences in the Self Esteem and Adaptation of Spanish-Speaking Second Generation Adolescents.
SPONS AGENCY Russell Sage Foundation, New York, NY.; Spencer Foundation, Chicago, IL.; National Science Foundation, Arlington, VA.
PUB DATE 2000-04-00
NOTE 42p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (New Orleans, LA, April 24-27, 2000).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research (143) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Academic Achievement; Acculturation; Achievement Need; *Early Adolescents; Ethnic Bias; *Ethnicity; *Hispanic American Students; *Immigrants; Minority Groups; Parent Child Relationship; *Personality Development; Predictor Variables; Secondary Education; *Self Esteem; Social Adjustment; Socioeconomic Influences
IDENTIFIERS *Children of Immigrants

ABSTRACT

Development of self-esteem tends to become stable in middle adolescence for mainstream groups, but relatively little is known about self-esteem development of individuals in groups undergoing cultural adaptation, such as Spanish-speaking adolescents. The idea that immigrant students (voluntary minorities) are alike in many psychological and social aspects ignores the role of intergroup social relations and culture upon the development of self-esteem. This paper examines the relationships among self-esteem, culture, and adaptation, using data from the Youth Adaptation and Growth questionnaire developed for the Second Generation Project in Miami and San Diego. For this analysis, the sample included approximately 2,600 students in grades 8-9 of Mexican, Cuban, Nicaraguan, or Colombian origin. The Cuban group was divided into private and public school students. Students were foreign-born or had at least one immigrant parent. As in mainstream samples, parent-child conflict and, to a lesser extent, depression were common predictors of self-esteem across most groups. However, groups differed in the importance of other predictors: academic achievement, achievement need, English proficiency, perceived discrimination, familism, and family structure. A model is proposed in which an immigrant group's adaptation (measured by self-esteem) is a function of the group's cultural history and traits, its compatibility with either mainstream or other minority groups, its reception by the mainstream, and its political and social capital. (Contains 65 references and 6 data tables.) (Author/SV)

Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made
from the original document.

ED 455 085

# Cultural Differences in the Self Esteem and Adaptation of Spanish-speaking Second Generation Adolescents

by

Pedro R. Portes

Madelon F. Zady

School of Education

University of Louisville

Louisville, Kentucky 40292

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Pedro R. Portes
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
1

Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association Meeting

April 24-27, 2000

*This study was made possible through the data provided by the principal investigator of the Children of Immigrants: The Adaptation of the Second Generation (A. Portes & R. Rumbaut) with the support of the Spencer, Russel Sage and National Science Foundations. However, the authors are solely responsible for the content of the report.



RC 023108

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Abstract

The development of self-esteem tends to become stable in middle adolescence for mainstream groups, however relatively little is known about the self-esteem development of individuals in groups that are undergoing cultural adaptation particularly among Spanish speaking adolescents. It has been argued that immigrant students (voluntary minorities) are alike in many psychological and social respects. Such arguments ignore the role of inter-group social relations and culture upon the development of self-esteem. This study seeks to clarify the relationships among self-esteem, culture and adaptation by using data from the Youth Adaptation and Growth questionnaire developed for the Second Generation Project in Miami and San Diego (Rumbaut, 1994) that consists of the survey responses of 5,264 eighth and ninth grade participants from 77 nationalities.

Different sets of predictors appear present in accounting for self-esteem that may be dependent upon ethnic group membership and those groups' social context. Groups that emigrate to other contexts are generally treated and supported differentially by the hosts and each, in turn, responds with various types and levels of agency.

Self-Esteem

Cultural differences in human psycho-social traits are subject to influences which may stem from the interactions of various levels of culture. From an ecological perspective (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), as a well as a cultural-historical one (Author, 1996; Valsiner & Cairns, 1992; Author, 2000b), the contexts in which a group's members find themselves at a given time during the process of cultural adaptation would seem to provide useful insights into the development of self- esteem and similar psycho-social traits. Self-esteem is a particularly important trait, for it reflects how a person feels about the self that is being co-constructed socially. It provides a glimpse at a person's developing consciousness about self. At a particular developmental stage such as adolescence, and in a particular social context of intergroup relations, self-esteem serves as an meaningful index of individual and group adaptation in terms of mental health, schooling and related areas. This paper examines the extent to which differences in self-esteem exist among various Spanish-speaking, immigrant groups at a time of collective transition or adaptation. It focuses on adolescent development in the context of various conditions associated with a group's reception and a number of psychosocial predictors.

Adolescence is a time of metamorphosis in the development of the self, which along with the many tasks of cultural adaptation for ethnic newcomers, appears a fruitful choice for comparative developmental research (Tudge, Shanahan and Valsiner, 1997). The development of self-esteem tends to become stable in middle adolescence for mainstream groups (see Rice, 1998), although the research related to individuals in groups undergoing cultural adaptation (immigrants) is "inconsistent" (Phinney, Chavira, & Williamson, 1992; Phinney, 1995). As self-esteem develops from self-concept and others' concept of the self and the groups that the self belongs to, it becomes a mirror of self-regard that in turn is mediated by others' regard. It is an "index of the survival of the soul" (Rice,1998) generally. The construction of this trait is central

to the quest for identity and its many components and the resolution of subsequent psycho-social crises (Adams, Gullotta, & Montemayor, 1992; Erickson, 1968). Some believe that the maintenance and enhancement of the perceived-self is the motive behind all behavior (Purkey, 1978; Rogers, 1961). Self-esteem spans from sexual and social to ideological and vocational domains. Self-esteem is central to issues concerning ego identity development, the study of cultural and individual adaptation, school achievement and related areas.

Self-Esteem and Identity

The development of self-concept and its affective index, self-esteem, would appear related to the mechanics behind the development of identity, which are theorized to be largely influenced, if not constructed, by social experience and history found in a particular context. The development of a positive, healthy identity seems generally mediated by positive self-esteem. Adolescence is a time when formal or symbolic operations emerge ( Piaget, 1972) and allow for greater awareness of self and others. The changes in perspectives, social cognition, and group-based instability in one's assessment of self are complicate adaptation during this stage. To capture the fluctuating nature of adolescence, Rosenberg (1986) employs the metaphor of the "barometric self." Future social indents and competencies are structured by social experience and context out of this testing ground of adolescence. These include mental health "propensities" that are generally masked by society's permissible "psychosocial moratorium" (Erickson, 1968). Self-esteem, after all, is a global self-evaluation based on how one feels about the various domains that constitute one's self-concept.

Factors Affecting Self-Esteem

Global self-esteem is highly associated with physical appearance and with peer social acceptance (Harter, 1989a&b, 1990a&b). Parental influences are also important and concern the expression of affection, concern about the adolescents' problems, conflict and related factors.

Peer judgements and relations, however, have an increasing influence during this period. Classmates' support has slightly more influence than that of close-friends (Harter, 1987). Low self-esteem has various consequences, including depression, delinquency, eating and other conduct disorders. However, the above relationship can be exacerbated by stressful events and school or family life transitions (Vega & Rumbaut, 1991). Factors that improve self-esteem generally concern the causes of low self-esteem. This is particularly the case for competence areas most important to the person, socio-emotional support and dealing directly with problems (in contrast to avoidance or denial), and achievement (Bednar, Wells & Peterson, 1989). The foundations of self-esteem appear to be centered on family and social class. It's relation to academic achievement has been closely examined and found to be significant and reciprocal (Filozof, et al.,1998; Markstrom–Adams & Adams, 1995). Gender differences appear often in this literature. The association between achievement and self-evaluations is more positive for boys than girls in general, and the relationship increases over time.

Problems in Assessing Cultural Differences in Self-Esteem

Cross-cultural research offers unique opportunities for observing how socio-genetic changes influence individual development. Much of the research on cultural differences involves established minority groups and gender (Dukes & Martinez, 1994; Wade, Thompson, Tashakkori & Valente. 1989). New immigrant groups provide an opportunity to examine the extent to which various groups may be considered similar in terms of factors influencing this aspect of development. While the literature on cultural differences related to a variety of traits has increased, the literature tends to portray more or less "fossilized," trait-context snapshots such as the different self-esteem, school achievement relations between African Americans and non-Hispanic Caucasians in the U.S. and other groups as well. Groups vary not only in terms of consistent cultural patterns but also in undergoing adaptation which in turn influences

developmental processes at the individual level.

Ethnic Identity and Self-Esteem

The very process of adapting to or accommodating to the mainstream culture has been described in various ways. In delineating the acculturation of the African American individual, Cross (1978) developed a stage model that included initial stage, encounter, exploration, immersion and internalization. The Berry, et al. (1987 & 1989) model of acculturation describes four outcomes: assimilation, integration (bi-cultural), segregation and marginalization. Phinney (1995) proposed a somewhat more dynamic model that includes both personal elements and outcomes. Among these are: self-evaluation of the group, personal feelings about group membership, interest in the ethnic group, commitment, ethnic identity and acculturation.

Groups that emigrate to other contexts may also be treated and supported differentially by the hosts and each, in turn, responds with various types and levels of agency to different circumstances (Author, 1996; Author, 1999). The relative standing of each community, with respect to other groups, would seem to impact the development of individuals in those groups undergoing acculturation. Based on analyses of different cultural histories and contexts, in a variety of immigrant groups, adaptation at the social level may be linked to the individual level in ways that go beyond research conducted in national cultures, or at least in rather monocultural conditions. In the case of the immigrant adolescent, the dynamics of inter-group social relations are superimposed upon the child's changing outlook.

The extent to which culture influences self-esteem may be considered at least on two levels. First, the extent to which the person's culture is similar to that employed in the standard literature is a concern, and one relevant to the degree of assimilation present for both the individual and the group in which she is "nested." For example, it may be that humility in Southeast Asian cultures, as a cultural value, might mediate reports on the self-esteem construct

or make it difficult to assess with current methods (Author, 2000b,). Second, the relations among natal and host cultures in the case of immigrants may also influence both, the development of self-esteem and identity. The relative status, cultural history (Author, 1996) and political power of a group rarely has been related to psychological development in a systematic fashion.

In order to better understand these problems, it appears useful to first distinguish among the different social histories of the groups being compared, i.e., their status and demographic characteristics. The first division concerns majority versus minority status. Groups in the latter category may then be divided according to whether they belong to established national minorities such as those considered "involuntary" or "autonomous" by Ogbu (1991) or those representing recent immigrant populations. The development of self-esteem under various social conditions, such as those found in the United States and other developed countries, by various types of groups provides useful information theoretically. The scope of that literature is beyond this report although prior work suggests considerable within-group ethnic variation exits in school adaptation (Author, 2000a).

Research on Self-Esteem in Spanish-Speaking Groups

Previous studies have found important differences in self-esteem among immigrant student groups (Author, 1999; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Rumbaut, 1994) who are often included under a pan-ethnic label such as Hispanic. These include group-differences in beliefs, motives for immigration and host-country reception. Others have examined self-esteem factors in adolescents from these same ethnic backgrounds (Phinney, 1989; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990; Phinney, Espinoza & Onwughalu, 1992; Phinney, Chavirn & Williamson, 1992), although only the latter study noted immigrant status. The conclusions from these studies indicate that many minority students first confront their ethnicity differences from the majority White culture during the important period of adolescence. Research directed at uncovering the factors that

affect self-esteem among Spanish-speaking adolescents is usually guided by assimilation-integration models ( Phinney, 1989; Berry, Kim, Minds & Moh, 1987; Berry, Kim, Power, Young, Brijohi, 1989).

Generally attempts at assimilation can be met with prejudice and discrimination and in some cases sanctions from one's own ethnic group perhaps prompting the self-esteem effects (Lang, Munoz, Bernal & Sorenson, 1982; Szapocznik & Kurtines 1980). However, methodological issues can confound the interpretations, as immigrant status is not always noted in studies nor are demographics controlled (Padilla, 1995; Rueschenberg & Buriel, 1995).

In an effort to overcome the confound, Alva (1995), examined the acculturation factors among "academically invulnerable" students. The sample was composed of Mexican American 10th graders who had been in the U.S. school system for at least three years. The data, including demographics, were analyzed using three regression models. CTBS test scores served as the dependent variable. Model 1, which consisted of variables such as SES and generational status, accounted for 8% of the variance in achievement scores. Model 2, which contained protective personal/environmental resources such as self-esteem and the educational values of parents, teachers and classmates, accounted for about 7% of the variance in academic achievement. Model three contained appraisal variables such as respect, caring and stress and accounted for 13% of the variance in achievement. The author concluded that "academically invulnerable" students differed from others in their personal and environmental resources and adaptive appraisals. Although the study did institute controls for some very important demographics, there was still a question concerning the immigrant status of the participants.

Phinney, Chavira and Williamson (1992) examined the adaptation and self-esteem of Spanish-speaking groups in a sample that included 417 high school students and 223 college students. Birth place was included in the demographics. The Rosenberg scale was used to

evaluate esteem. Integration or a strong ethnic identification and a positive mainstream orientation was related to higher self-esteem. This integration of dual cultures was positively correlated with self-esteem for all ethnicities, genders and ages with the exception of Black high school students and foreign-born college students. These results indicate that a more positive self-concept is associated with identifying with both one's own culture and the mainstream.

Gender is seen to have culturally relevant effects. In an effort to extricate the ethnicity-gender connect (ethgender), Martinez and Dukes (1991) employed a longitudinal study that examined private versus public domains of self-esteem. The participants were in junior and high school and represented many minority subgroups as well as Whites. Over a three year period, the study revealed that the private domain (global SE) remained more stable, while Chicanas showed the greatest decrease in the public domain SE markers such as self-perceived intelligence.

In a more direct study of immigrant status, Matute-Bianchi (1986 & 1989) showed that recent high-school-age Mexican immigrants had higher academic achievement than teens from long-standing Mexican groups. Bernal, Saenz and Knight (1995) note that more recent immigrant children also were able to link their academic success to higher status adult occupations thus showing that "immigrant edge" so often noted in the literature (Author, 200b; Ogbu, 1991). As expected, the more long-standing groups could not make this association (hopelessness).

Discrimination is often seen to "trump" the immigrant "folk theories" of success (Ogbu, 1991; Rumbaut, 1994). But surprisingly several studies have shown that generally discrimination is not found to be a predictor of self-esteem (Crocker & Major, 1989; Gordon, 1980; Phinney,1995; Rosenberg & Simmons, 1972). There is evidence that these children attribute the aversive experiences to their group membership (racism) (a public domain) rather

than to their personal worth (private domain) (Phinney, 1995).

Family relationships are also frequently cited factors related to self-esteem among Spanish-speaking groups. Oftentimes Spanish-speakers are seen to segregate themselves or to insulate themselves by folding back into the family unit–familism. In an effort to probe the construct of familism, Ruschenberg and Buriel (1995) interviewed some 45 Mexican-American husband-wife pairs, two-thirds of which were born in Mexico. The results of the family environment survey revealed that, as families acculturate, members become increasingly involved with U.S. institutions, but internal family systems variables remained intact even when English became the primary language. Other authors had similar findings ( Keefe & Padilla, 1987; Phinney 1995; Vega, et al.,1986). Despite these very creditable studies of self-esteem markers in Spanish-speakers, the picture remains cloudy. Unfortunately, the above literature often fails to distinguish among groups in terms of their cultural histories, for example, Mexican Americans are often lumped together regardless of their immigration history and status.

Rationale of the Study

For developmental researchers, the study of social and psychological phenomena is particularly attractive in periods of change and transition (Vygotsky, 1978). Comparative designs that observe samples in flux may help to uncover the role of structural and other factors in the development of "traits" in periods of collective adaptation. This window on the particular beliefs, values and activities (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988) as they cross from the social to the psychological plane, and vice versa, may help to elucidate the forging of the self. For immigrant adolescents, whose development unfolds often in dialectical, inter-cultural contexts, an opportunity exists to uncover, or at least to make some tenable conjectures about how social and familial factors contribute to the formation of self-esteem. That is, examining the role of various factors that predict self-esteem for distinct cultural groups provides a useful baseline that may

eventually contribute toward a cultural and developmental, unified theory of human development. It can also serve to test some of the assumptions reflected in the literature about Spanish-speaking immigrants in general.

Background of the Study

Cultural differences in self-esteem among children of immigrants and other groups may be linked to different types of structural and psychological predictors. Comparative research in this area is rare with some exceptions that concern cross-national studies and a few intra-national, comparative studies. In an earlier study of the data employed in this report, the role of differential risk or protective factors were considered. Rumbaut (1994) examined some of the predictors of self-esteem in a large sample of immigrant adolescent students from various Asian, Latin American and Caribbean countries. Self-esteem was highly associated with parent-child conflict, depressive symptoms, English proficiency and gender. Teens born in the U.S. tended to have lower self-esteem than those born abroad. Low school achievement and high perceptions of discrimination were also associated with low self-esteem. Black self-identity was predictive of higher self-esteem, while Vietnamese and Filipino students scored significantly lower on the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale. A subsequent study of these data (Portes & MacLeod, 1996) suggested that assuming the ethnic identity imposed by the dominant society was associated with lower self-esteem and overall adaptation.

The present paper draws on the above data set and examines more closely the relation of self-esteem and culture within various Latin American and/or Spanish-speaking immigrant groups. These groups vary across demographic and psycho-social variables as well as in their cultural history. It is predicted that, while a core of psycho-social variables such as SES, gender, length of assimilation, family conflict or discrimination might be significant in the development of self-esteem, the role of inter-group social relations across cultures and history will vary

depending on ethnic group membership, gender roles and context factors within those cultures.

The purpose of the current study is to examine self-esteem variations of adolescents of Latin American-origin and other Spanish-speaking immigrant groups as they adapt to American schooling. Within-group variations in the pan-ethnic category are of particular interest. For purposes of this study, the predictors of self-esteem across various immigrant Spanish-speaking adolescents is examined in ways that may inform some of the explanations proposed in the findings and discussion of the reviewed literature. Even when attempting to control for several other important mediating variables, the assessment of the many subtleties of context-person interaction remains difficult. Only snapshots of self-esteem can be provided by examining various groups in contexts during a particular historical period. The aim of the study is thus descriptive and limited to basic inferences regarding the extent to which self-esteem differences may exist across certain Spanish-speaking groups. The questions which guide this study are: What is the extent of differences in self-esteem among Spanish-speaking groups? What is the nature of its most important psycho-social determinants? To what extent are Spanish-speaking groups similar regarding the self-esteem trait after SES and English proficiency are controlled? What is the role of gender for this sample, as well as for distinct groups?

## Method

The data for this study stem from the Youth Adaptation and Growth Questionnaire developed for the Second Generation Project in Miami and San Diego (Portes & McLeod, 1996). In Rumbaut (1994), a full description of the design of the study, sampling, and procedures can be found. A total of 5,267 second-generation students from various groups were interviewed. According to the author, second generation status for children was defined as living in this country (U.S.) for at least five years or being the child of at least one immigrant parent. By limiting the sample to eighth and ninth graders, the bias created by school dropouts in the higher

school years was reduced. This is a time when most children are still in school. One-half of the sample participants were born outside the U.S. before age 12. The other half was U.S. born. The sample was also evenly distributed by grade and gender. Rumbaut and Ima (1988) referred to this sample as "the one-and-a-half or 1.5 generation."

Children from 77 different nationalities and 42 different schools in Dade County (Miami), Broward County (Ft. Lauderdale) (N>2800) and the San Diego metropolitan area (N>2400) were interviewed using the survey tool. The total participants in the study were 5,264. The study accessed school records thus allowing researchers to match the characteristics of the respondents (nationality, sex, age, parental education, length of U.S. residents and aspirations) with their school performance.

Sample Selection

Students were foreign-born or had at least one foreign-born parent. A brief initial survey of all eighth and ninth graders in the school districts indicated above was conducted in order to locate participants. Parental consent was obtained for all eligible participants. The return rate was 67% of the South Florida group and 75% for the San Diego group (Rumbaut, 1994). About 2600 were of Spanish-speaking-group origin and the nationalities represented in the current study include: Colombian (N=227), Cubans in private school (N = 183), Cubans in public school (N=1044), Mexican (N=758), and Nicaraguan (N=344).

General Measures

Data on the respondents' demographic characteristics were provided by the survey: nativity and citizenship of both respondents and parents, family size and structure, socioeconomic status including parents' education level and occupation, and home ownership. Descriptive procedures and means testing were performed with each of the groups. Students from all Spanish-speaking groups were grouped together when certain analyses were performed.

This was done to examine the relation of the psychosocial variables, culture, and achievement to self-esteem in the overall or "pan-Hispanic" participants. Subsequent regression analyses selected for each individual ethnic group.

Control variables included: grade, age, gender, English language proficiency (EPI), inner city school, and parental SES. Since those in the earlier grade were more recent immigrants and generally were less bilingual, grade could be seen to index indirectly cultural adaptation.

Psychosocial Measures

A collection of attitudinal and other psychosocial variables were analyzed and subjected to data reduction schemes. As defined in an earlier study (Rumbout, 1994), measures of parent-child conflict, depression, familism and self-esteem were included. A familism scale assessed the strength of family bonds (FAMSCA, alpha=.56). Parent-child conflict (PCC, alpha=.56), self-esteem from a ten-item Rosenberg scale (Rosenberg, 1979) (ROSEN, alpha=.81), and depressive symptoms from a four-item subscale from the Center for Epidemiological Studies-Depression (CES-D, alpha=.74) were used and have been found in the past to be predictive of major depression among adolescents (Vega & Rumbaut, 1991).

Measures Based on Factor Analysis

From selected interview items, several measures were developed through factor analyses. One analysis yielded a scale measuring perceived discrimination (alpha=.54), another indexed felt discrimination (alpha= .98), and a third factor analysis represented an achievement motivation scale (alpha=.69).

Variables dealing with adaptation to the American culture and to the ethnic culture were evaluated. A student's cultural development, for example, could be revealed through choice of language in daily routines, his/her parent's own cultural identification and attitudes and perceptions concerning American culture. To examine these constructs of cultural identity, a

factor analysis of twelve such variables was conducted. A bipolar factor was hypothesized that would range from preferences for American to natal ways. A two factor solution was found to be more tenable, accounting for 49% of the variance. The first factor served to index the respondent's ethnic identification and adaptation. It was related to the "Pull" of the native culture on the individual and the extent to which the respondent's natal language was maintained. The factor also served to measure the respondent's native language proficiency and the parents' use of the native language. The second factor contained variables related to adaptation to the American culture. This factor served to examine the parents' cultural adaptions and the respondent's assimilation into the mainstream of America. The first factor was dubbed "Ethnic Pull" (alpha=.80), and the second factor, "American Pull" (alpha=.66), was so named to reflect adaptation to the American way of life. These factor scores were used in subsequent statistical analyses.

Other Predictor Variables

SES reflected the family's socio-economic status at present compared to five years prior. The number of hours spent daily on homework was divided by hours spent watching television, and the resulting variable was time management. Respondent's peer relationships were examined as to the total number of friends and the number of friends of similar ethnic background. Other variables were included in the subsequent analyses: limited English proficiency (LEP), grade point average (GPA), performance on standardized achievement tests (ACHTOT), father presence, mother presence, and span of time living in the U.S.

## Results

A multiple regression analysis was employed to determine the main predictors of self-esteem and the relative importance of three blocks of such predictors: demographic, psycho-

social and ethnic. Several preliminary analyses were conducted initially before the above analysis. In the end, individual regressions were performed for each group to better understand within group differences.

The beta weights of significant predictors of the initial three block regression analysis with the full sample of immigrant children (nine broad cultural backgrounds) are presented in Table 1. The dependent variable was self-esteem. Overall, the net effect of ethnicity entered as a block of dummied variables (model 3) was not significant above and beyond the demographic (model 1) and psycho-social predictors (model 2), which accounted for 8% and 23% of the variance in Rosenberg scores respectively. However, two broad Asian groups were found to differ significantly from the contrast group (Cubans in private school).

A two-stage regression was performed on the above variables for the total Spanish-speaking group (dependent variable=self-esteem). The demographic variables in model 1 accounted for 7% of the variance (p.=.000), and the psychosocial variables in model 2 explained about 22% of the variance in self-esteem (p=.000). The beta weights of significant predictors in of this regression can be found in Table 2. Compared to the prior regression for the entire sample, gender effects moderated in the Spanish-speaking group.

The sample was then divided into five distinct Spanish-speaking groups: Cuban in private school, Cuban in public school, Mexican, Nicaraguan and Colombian. The results of individual two-model regressions for each of the five ethnic groups can be found in Table 3. Generally, with the exception of the depression scale and parent-child conflict, these groups appear to differ in their predictors of self-esteem. The means for important predictors by gender and ethnicity can be found in Table 4. The results of significance testing for each of these can be found in the two ANOVA tables (Tables 5 & 6). Generally many of the ethnic and gender differences proved significant, but the interactions did not.

## Discussion

The findings in this study point to at least two important issues in the literature. The first issue concerns how the predictors of adolescent self-esteem vary in groups of children of immigrants relative to other non-immigrant groups. This requires examining the predictors in Table1 and Table 2 in the context of the literature pertaining to non-immigrant adolescent students, both of the majority and non-immigrant minorities. Among the latter groups, often referred to as involuntary groups (Ogbu, 1991), varying degrees of acculturation may be posited. So seems to be the case also for the present sample in that some groups appear to be adapting in different ways to different circumstances. As noted earlier, (Author, 1999), after controlling for English proficiency and gender, parent-child conflict and depression appear to be the key predictors of self-esteem. The latter two, of course, are the main predictors for the mainstream population in the current literature. Achievement motivation and competence in school academics play as important factors. Too much closeness to the family of origin or familism appears again to predict lower adaptation (see Author, 2000a for predictors of school achievement). Although the familism scale used in this study would be considered more of an external rather than an internal measure of family support (see also Rueschenberg & Buriel, 1995 and Sobogal, 1987). With the exception of English proficiency and familism, the predictors are not different from those in other studies using non-immigrant groups. It should be noted that familism has not been considered as a factor in much of the literature.

Additionally comparing the Latin American with the whole sample of immigrants only shows some group difference between the Private Cuban reference group and some Asian groups on the self-esteem construct. Differences in such predictors may shed light on how contextual factors operate in the co-construction of self-esteem during the very critical period of adolescence. For example, as noted earlier in a study of Asian groups (Author, 2000b), the

cultural validity of the Rosenberg self-esteem measure with these students may be problematic. It may be that this construct is interpreted differently by Asian students due to a different cultural orientation, and it does not serve to index social and psychological adaptation as well as with the Western groups. In sum, while the first issue remains unresolved, it appears that majority-minority group differences are small and so is the effect of ethnicity after other factors are controlled.

The second issue that is of considerable theoretical interest is the degree to which socio-psychological variables such as achievement motivation, perceived discrimination and similar factors vary in the present sample of students. This study suggests that even with a group of seemingly homogeneous voluntary immigrants, i.e., Hispanic, there are considerable differences in adaptation as measured by self-esteem. While some predictors of self-esteem appear to be common across groups, such as parent-child conflict and to a lesser extent, depression, other factors can serve to distinguish among immigrant groups, as well as majority from minority youth. In an earlier study, the relation between parent-child conflict and depression was carefully examined for immigrant youth (Rumbaut, 1994). It may be that the latter is causally related to the former, and that both impact on self-esteem. From this study, it is clear that even within a voluntary minority sample (here the Spanish-speakers), important differences exist in the factors that influence self-esteem. This finding casts more doubt on Obgu's model which suggests that between-group differences are of greater import than within group (within voluntary minority groups) differences, particularly when language and native culture are controlled to a considerable extent.

The individual analyses suggest that Cubans in private school differ in significant ways from the other groups, including public-school Cubans largely because of the social context discussed in related publications (Author, 2000a; Portes & Zhou, 1993). Both the ethnic and

American pull factors predict adjustment, suggesting a style of adaptation that is largely bi-cultural in nature (Phinney, et al., 1992). In contrast with other groups, parent-child conflict is absent and perceived discrimination is positively related to self-esteem. The latter has been found negatively associated with adaptation in other research (Author, 2000a; Rumbaut, 1994). One interpretation is that this group, the most advantaged and least discriminated against, may very well be aware of discrimination in the U.S., but they may not feel that it pertains to them directly. Being aware of this factor facilitates social adaptation for this group. For both Mexicans and public-school Cubans, parent absence was a distinct factor. The Nicaraguan adolescents do not appear to be much different than the norm, with the three main factors accounting for about a third of the variance in self-esteem, as with all other groups except the private-school Cubans where their predictors explained about 50% of the variance in the dependent variable. The Colombians, on the other hand, pose an interesting and distinct case. Only two factors appear predictive of self-esteem. While parent-child conflict was absent only in the private Cuban group, depression is absent only in the Colombian sample. Their overall depression mean was not different from other groups. It should be noted however that the means for depression among females were higher than that for males in all these Spanish-speaking groups.

The Model

The current study examined only "one and one half generation" immigrant adolescents, and controlled for the effects of several demographic variables. While evidence of minor differences in the predictors of self-esteem for the total Spanish-speaking group as compared to the entire Youth Adaptation sample were found, significant within group variations were uncovered for the five subgroups of Spanish speakers. A dynamic model is proposed that considers the give and take between the immigrant culture and that of the mainstream "host"

majority and other groups (Author, 2000a; Author, 2000b). Developmental differences among immigrant groups' adaptation appear to be mainly a function of four types of interacting factors: a) the cultural history and traits of the immigrant group, b) the degree to which the latter are compatible with or conducive toward adaptation into either domestic minorities' cycle of poverty, and/or compatible with the mainstream, c) the host/mainstream's reception of the immigrant group, inclusive of its reaction to ethnic markers (phenotypic and cultural) in a particular historical period, and d) the political and social capital developed by the immigrants' ethnic group in the host culture that supports its members' agency in the community.

This model is consistent with a segmented assimilation view (Portes & Zhou, 1993). While more work is necessary to support the model, finding answers to what has become a "cultural difference" riddle is important in addressing fundamental issues in educational research and policy. Those issues concern not only ethnic but also majority students. Differences in adaptation are in turn relevant to equity and excellence in education.

Based on the above model, a closer approximation may be possible in accounting for the data now available. For example, Cubans in private school have the highest level of self-esteem as compared to the other four groups. These students have factor "a" compatibility with the mainstream's ("b" factor), and count on the protective factors inherent in their "d" factor or established political and social power. Also, the reaction by the host culture (c) to the latter has been relatively benevolent due, in part, to compatibility in markers which facilitate adaptation (Smart & Smart, 1995), to compatibility in views regarding political history, and to possession of available means, some provided by the host government.

In the current study, Cubans in private school in particularly seem to show the "integration" or "bicultural" pattern noted earlier by Berry, et al. (1987 & 1989) and Phinney (1995), as both the American Pull and the Ethnic Pull factors are significant positive predictors

of self-esteem. Perceived discrimination by the host (c) was a positive predictor of self-esteem. It may be that host reaction to the first wave of Cuban migration seemed to differ somewhat from that to the second wave, and because the private-school group was the most literate (higher standardized test scores), the reaction by the host nation was not lost on them. However, the predictor was positively associated with self-esteem, such that these adolescents successfully dealt with discrimination, because they are protected by the Cuban enclave "d."

Self-esteem was significantly lower for Mexican groups as compared with all groups but particularly for the girls, with females scoring higher on the depression scale. English proficiency was the lowest of all groups and reflects the least compatibility with the mainstream culture. Those with higher English proficiency showed higher self-esteem. Unlike the Cubans, Mexican immigrants face a double risk because of their "b" factor compatibility with disparaged domestic minorities (Ogbu, 1991) and the prevailing negative reaction by the dominant majority (factor "c"). It appears that for Mexican girls, obstacles to gaining higher self-esteem are amplified during this time and context. Their enclaves' social and political capital ("d" factor) is not yet developed sufficiently enough to protect their members particulary for females. It may take several generations to achieve conditions comparable with those of other groups.

Among the Nicaraguan students, self-esteem was significantly above the sample. Although the phenotypic and linguistic (low English proficiency) traits of this immigrant group may appear to the hosts (c) as similar to those of other poor domestic minorities (b), in some ways these students also demonstrate the "immigrant edge." The female students have high scores on GPA and achievement motivation, and the latter was a significant positive predictor of self-esteem. How successful these students will be in competing in the mainstream is questionable. Because of more recent immigration, political and social capital is most likely not

established (d).

In general, Colombian students' self-esteem was above that of the entire sample but not significantly. There were no English proficiency differences from the mean of the entire sample which seems somewhat surprising in light of the self-esteem differences. Further, Rumbaut (1994) noted that Colombians were not likely to attend inner city schools. These results may cause speculation concerning the social class of these immigrants. This group appears more like the Cuban groups in some ways that center on getting along with parents and doing well in school.

In sum, adolescence is a time of transition during which young people "try on other-selves." It is a time of conflict between parents and children across all groups that make up American society. Not only are the parent's and child's identities in conflict, but also the child's group identity is going through a critical period of self- and other-evaluation. Immigrant adolescents feel the pull of the American culture and perhaps desire to identify with the abundant material benefits and the great promise offered in the host society. They want to "fit in" and hopefully reap the harvest. Yet they are also aware of rejection by the host culture. They are afraid of displeasing their parents and their community as well. Parents on the other hand wish that their children will grow in their understanding of both cultures. They do not want to lose their children to American society (either emotionally or physically) or to allow their children to act in ways that conflict with the values of the natal culture (mores). Additionally, they do not want their children to be harmed by rejection that often comes from a discriminating host or hosts. Yet immigrant parents may well desire that their children will be successful and have the material benefits of the U.S. society. The child's feelings of inadequacy in the presence of such stressors may promote depression, especially among the girls. In which groups perhaps the process is in a dynamic that does not allow generally for a smooth "bi-cultural" orientation

as noted in the relatively more privileged private-school Cuban group.

Finally, it is important to note that the Mexican sample tends to gravitate towards what may be considered a "disparaged" minority (Treuba, 1993 ). As more recent immigrants from this background acculturate, they may be assimilated into a less powerful community. Second, unlike other immigration patterns involved with this entire sample, there are contiguous borders between the U. S. and Mexico. The close proximity of the two countries serves continually to reinforce the ethnic language and the Mexican culture in these groups (Bernal, Saenz & Knight, 1995). That culture is different from the mainstream, and because of the above noted factors, fairly stable and resistant to change. So Mexican culture remains consistently isolated from the mainstream and is continually reinforced with "old country"values and ideology which suggests a unique co-constructed style of acculturation.

Interventions

Interventions need to be aimed at and sensitive to the junctures of the model. That is a) at the cultural history of the group, b) at the cycle of poverty both economic and academic, c) at the host's reactions and d) at helping these immigrant children to develop capital and power to influence their futures. Many of these interventions are already in place. The following is just a minute sampling of some of the more excellent programs.

Related to cultural history, Sheets (1995) described a culturally relavent Spanish program that maintained Latino students' native language and increased language fluency by developing thinking, oral and written Spanish skills. Godina (1994) characterized a program of study that used indigenous Mexican/Aztec cultural features to reinforce the desire to learn.

The Mano a Mano Project employed Spanish-speaking college students to mentor children in order to intervene in their academic preparation (see Melendez, & Medina-Gutierez, 1994). Dropout prevention programs are also available with counseling to improve self-esteem

and opportunities for career exploration (Matos, 1998). In "A House for My Mother," AbiNader (1990) reported on a program that helps Mexican students to create a vision for the future, to redefine self-image and to build a supportive community.

To affect host or mainstream opinions, multicultural education must be expanded and must emphasize respect for other cultures. Godina (1994) was able to do this to some extent with the Indigenous Mexican/Aztec cultural program when it was directed at teachers,as the role of the teacher seems vital. Inger (1990) in discussing the increase of Hispanic parent-school involvement noted that teachers often "misread" Hispanic parents. Young (2000) noted that few teachers or administrators believe that Hispanic parents can be of help in the classroom. Because the role of the teacher is so central, more programs need to be directed at increasing the number of Hispanic-origin teachers.

## Conclusion

Subgroups within the Spanish-speaking fraction of this large Youth Adaptation sample showed differing predictors of self-esteem. A dynamic, cultural context model (Author, 2000a; Cole & Cole, 1993) provides answers to different assimilative/acculturative patterns and the changes in the hosts' reception at any moment in time. Spanish-speaking subgroups show different trends in the way that they will "fit into" American society, how much of their own culture they will retain, how much discrimination they will be subjected to, how that discrimination will affect individual self-esteem, and how much power they will be able to garner in the end. School achievement and motivation also appear to vary considerably within the Latin American population.

References

Abi-Nader, J. (1990). "A house for my mother": Motivating Hispanic high school students. Anthropology and Education quarterly, 21, 41-58.

Adams, G.R., Gullotta, T. P. Montemayor, Raymond (Eds.), 1992 Adolescent Identity Formation. Newbury Park, CA:Sage.

Alva, S. A. (1995). Academic invulnerability among Mexican American students. In A. M. Padilla (Ed.) Hispanic psychology critical issues in theory and research (pp. 288-302). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Author (1996). Culture, ethnicity and educational psychology. In R. Calfee & D Berliner (Eds.) Handbook of Educational Psychology.

Author (1999). Cultural differences in self-esteem: Ethnic variations in the adaptation of recent immigrant Asian adolescents. In D. S. Sandu (Ed.) Asian and Pacific Islander Americans: Issues and concerns for counseling and psychotherapy. (Pp. 137-150). Commack, NY: Nova Science Publishers.

Author (2000a). Social and psychological factors in the academic achievement of children of immigrants: A cultural history puzzle. American Educational Research Journal, 36 498-507.

Author (2000b). Cultural differences in self-esteem: Ethnic and gender variations in the adaptation of recent immigrant Asian adolescents. In S. T. Gregory (Ed.) The academic achievement of minority students (pp. 189-212). Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America.

Bednar, R. L., Wells, M. G. & Peterson, S. R. (1989). Self esteem. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Bernal, M. E. Saenz, D. S. & Knight, G. P. (1995). Ethnic identity and adaptation of Mexican American youths in school settings. In A. M. Padilla (Ed.) Hispanic psychology critical issues in theory and research (pp. 71-88). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Berry, J. W., Kim, U., Minde, T. & Mok, D. (1987). Comparative studies in acculturative stress. International Migration Review, 21, 491-511.

Berry, J. W., Kim, U., Power, S., Young, M. & Bujahi (1989). Acculturation attitudes in plural societies, Applied Psychology, 38, 185-206.

Bronfrenbrenner, U. (1979). The ecology of human development. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Cole, M. & Cole, S. R. (1993). The development of children, 2nd ed. NY: W. H. Freeman.

Crocker, J. & Major, B. (1989). Social stigma and self-esteem: The self-protective properties of stigma. Psychological Review, 96, 608-630.

Cross, W. (1978). The Thomas and Cross models of psychological nigrescence: A literature review. Journal of Black Psychology, 4, 13-31.

Dukes, R.L., & Martinez, R. (1994). The impact of ethgender on self-esteem among adolescents. Adolescence, 29(113), 105-115.

Erickson, E. H. (1968). Identity and youth crisis. NY: W.W.Norton.

Filozof, E. M., Albertin, H. K., Jones, C. R., Stems, S. S., Myers, L, & McDermott, R. J. (1998). Relationship of adolescent self-esteem to selected academic variables. Journal of School

Health, 68, 68-72.

Godina, H.(1994). Indigenous Mexican culture Chicana/o education. ERIC Abstract ED373952.

Harter, S. (1987). The determinants and mediatorial role of global self-worth in children. In N. Eisenberg (Ed.), Contemporary issues in developmental psychology. New York:Wiley.

Harter, S. (1989a). Causes, correlates, and the functional role of global self-worth: A life-span perspective. In J Kollingian & R. Sterberg (Eds.) Perceptions of competence and incompetence across the life-span. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Harter, S. (1989b). Self-perception profile for adolescents. Denver: University of Denver, Department of Psychology.

Harter, S. (1990a). Processes underlying adolescent self-concept formation. In R. Montemayor, G. R. Adams, & T. P. Gulotta (Eds.) From childhood to adolescence: A transitional period? Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Harter, S. (1990b). Self and identity development. In S. S. Feldman & G. R. Elliott (Eds.), At the threshold: the developing adolescent. Cambridge, MA.:Harvard University Press.

Inger, M. (1992). Increasing the school involvement of Hispanic parents. ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education.

Keefe, S. E. & Padilla, A. M. (1987). Chicano ethnicity. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.

Lang, J., Munroz, R., Bernal, G.& Sorenson, J. (1982). Quality of life and psychological well-being in a bicultural Latino community. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Science, 4, 433-450.

Markstrom-Adams, C. & Adams, G. R. (1995). Gender, ethnic group, and grade differences in psychosocial functioning during middle adolescence? Journal of Youth and

Adolescence, 24, 397-417.

Martinez, R. & Dukes, R. L. (1991). Ethnic and gender differences in self-esteem. Youth and Society, 22, 318-338.

Matos, C. M. (1998). Decreasing early school withdrawal and retention of Hispanics and other limited English proficient (LEP) students through counseling and arts/career exploration. ERIC Abstract ED428308.

Matute-Bianchi, M.E. (1986). Ethnic identity and patterns of school success and failure among Mexican-descendant and Japanese American students in a California high school: an ethnographic analysis. American Journal of Education, 95, 233-255.

Matute-Bianchi, M.E. (1989). Situational ethnicity and patters of school performance among immigrant and non-immigrant Mexican-descent students. Bilingual Research Group paper number 89-05. Santa Cruz, CA: University of California Press.

Melendez , C. D. & Medina-Gutierrez, B. (1994). The Mano a Mano project: A collaborative mentoring effort. ERIC Abstract ED383958.

Ogbu, J.U. (1991). Immigrant and involuntary minorities in comparative perspective. In M.A. Gibson and J.U. Ogbu (Eds.) Minority status and schooling: A comparative study of immigrant and involuntary minorities (pp. 3-33). New York: Garland.

Padilla, A. M. (1995). Introduction to Hispanic psychology. In A. M. Padilla (Ed.) Hispanic psychology critical issues in theory and research (pp. x-xxi). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Phinney, J. (1989). Stages of ethnic identity development in minority group adolescents. Journal of Early Adolescence, 9, 34-49.

Phinney, J.S. (1995). Ethinic identity and self-esteem. In A. M. Padilla (Ed.) Hispanic psychology critical issues in theory and research (pp. 57-70). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Phinney J. & Alipuria, L. (1990). Ethnic identity in college students from four ethnic groups. Journal of Adolescence, 13, 171-183.

Phinney, J. S., Chavira, V. & Williamson, L. (1992). Acculturation attitudes and self-esteem among high school and college students. Youth and Society, 23, 299-312.

Phinney, J. S., Espinoza, C. Onwughalu, M. N. (1992, March). Accommodation and conflict: The relationship of ethnic identity and American identity among Asian American, Black and Hispanic adolescents. Paper presented at the meeting of the society for Research on Adolescence, Washington, DC.

Piaget, J. (1972). Intellectual evolution from adolescence to adulthood, Human Development, 15, 1-12.

Portes, A.E. & MacLeod, D. (1996). What shall I call myself? Hispanic identity formation in the second generation. Ethnic and racial studies, 13(N. 3), Routledge 1996 0141-9870.

Portes, A.E. & Zhou, M. (1993). The new second generation: Segmented ass.milation and its variants. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 520:7.

Purkey, W. W. (1978). Inviting school success: a self-concept approach to teach'ng and learning, Belmont CA: Wasdworth.

Rice, P. (1998) The adolescent (8th Edition). NY: Allyn & Bacon.

Rogers, C. R. (1961). On becoming a person: A therapist's view of psychotherapy. Boston, MA: Houghton-Mifflin.

Rosenberg, M. (1979). Conceiving the self. New York:Basic Books.

Rosenberg, M. (1986). Self-concept from middle childhood through adolescence, in J. Suls & A. G. Greenwald (Eds.) Psychological perspective on the self (Vol. 3). Hillsdale, NJ:

Earlbaum.

Rosenberg, M. & Simmons, R. (1972). Black and White self-esteem. Washington, DC: American Sociological Association.

Rumbaut, R. (1994). The crucible within: Ethnic identity, self-esteem, and segmented assimilation among children of immigrants. International Migration Review, 28, 748-794.

Rumbaut, R. G. & Ima, K. (1988). The adaptation of Southwest Asian refugee youth: A comparative study. Washington, DC: U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement. ERIC Accession Number: ED299372.

Ruschenberg, E. J. & Buriel, R. (1995). Mexican American family function and acculturation. In A. M. Padilla (Ed.) Hispanic psychology critical issues in theory and research (pp.15-25). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Sheets, R. H. (1995). From remedial to gifted: Effects of culturally centered pedagogy. Theory into Practice, 34, 186-193.

Smart, J. F. & Smart, D. W. (1995). Acculturative stress of Hispanics: Loss and challenge. Journal of Counseling and Development, 73, 390-396.

Sobogal, F., Marin, G, Otero-Sobogal, R., Van-Ors-Marin, B. & Perez, E. J. (1987). Hispanic familism and acculturation: What changes and what doesn't. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 9, 397-412.

Szapocznik, J. & Kurtines, W. (1980). Acculturation, biculturalism and adjustment among Cuban Americans. In A. Padilla (Ed.) Acculturaton: theory, models and some new findings (pp. 134-160). Boulder, CO: Westview.

Tharp, R. G. & Gallimore, R. (1988). Rousing minds to life: Teaching, learning and schooling in social context. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Treuba, R. G. (1993). Many groups, one people: The meaning and significance of

multicultural education in America. Vilingual Research journal, 16, 91-117.

Tudge, J., Shanahan M. and Valsiner, J. (1997). Comparisons in human development: Understanding time and context. MA: Cambridge University Press.

Valsiner, J. & Cairns, R. (1992). Theoretical perspectives on conflict and development. In Shantz and W.W. Hartup (Eds.) Conflict in child and adolescent development ( pp.15-35). MA: Cambridge University Press.

Vega, W. A., Patterson, T., Salis, J. Nader, P., Atkins, C. & Abramson, I. (1986). Cohesion and adaptability in Mexican American and Anglo families. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 48, 857-867.

Vega, W. A. & Rumbaut, R. G. (1991). Ethnic minorities and mental health. Annual Review of Sociology, 17: 352-383.

Vygotsky L. (1978). Mind in society. MA: Harvard University Press

Wade, T. J., Thompson, V. D., Tashakkori, A., & Valente, E. (1989). A longitudinal analysis of sex by race differences in predictors of adolescent self esteem. Personality and Individual Differences, 10(7): 717-729.

Young, M. (2000). Family involvement: Learning from secondary schools in the Texas borderland. In S. T. Gregory (Ed.) The academic achievement of minority students (pp. 29-63). Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America.

Table 1

Significant Predictors of Self-esteem from Regressions Using Entire Youth Adaptation Sample

| Variable | Beta | Sig. |
|---|---|---|
| English Proficiency Index | .132 | .000 |
| Gender | .048 | .003 |
| Parent-Child Conflict Scale | -.219 | .000 |
| Depression Scale | -.257 | .000 |
| Familism Scale | -.090 | .000 |
| Total Achievement | .144 | .000 |
| Achievement Motivation | .144 | .000 |
| Southeast Asians | -.045 | .027 |
| Other Asians | -.045 | .011 |

Note: Cubans in private school serves as the reference group.

Southeast Asians = Vietnamese, Laotian, Cambodian, Hmong

Total $R^2 = .31$

Table 2

Significant Predictors of Self-esteem from Regression Using Five Spanish-Speaking Groups

| Variable | Beta | Sig. |
|---|---|---|
| English Proficiency Index | .115 | .000 |
| Parent-Child Conflict Scale | -.215 | .000 |
| Depression Scale | -.249 | .000 |
| Familism Scale | -.089 | .003 |
| Total Achievement | .119 | .000 |
| Achievement Motivation | .160 | .000 |

Total $R^2 = .288$

Table 3

Significant Predictors of Self-esteem from Regressions Using Distinct Ethnic Groupings*

| Group | Variable | Beta | Sig. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Private School | Depression | -.447 | .000 |
| Cubans | Perceived Discrimination | .243 | .022 |
| | Ethnic Pull | .421 | .010 |
| | American Pull | .338 | .027 |
| | $R^2 = .50$ | | |
| Model 1 F=.632 p=.636 Model 2 F=3.947 p=.000 | | | |
| Public School | Parent-Child Conflict | -.201 | .000 |
| Cubans | Depression | -.329 | .000 |
| | Achievement Motivation | .185 | .000 |
| | Father Lives with You | .080 | .028 |
| | $R^2 = .31$ | | |
| Model 1 F=3.25 p=.004 Model 2 F=13.406 p=.000 | | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mexican | English Proficiency | .120 | .017 |
| | Parent-Child Conflict | -.225 | .000 |
| | Depression | -.185 | .000 |
| | Familism | -.113 | .013 |
| | Achievement Motivation | .095 | .040 |
| | Achievement Total | .191 | .000 |
| | Mother Lives with You | .099 | .020 |
| | $R^2 = .29$ | | |
| Model 1 F=5.809 p=.000 Model 2 F=7.525 p=.000 | | | |
| Nicaraguan | Parent-Child Conflict | -.226 | .003 |
| | Depression | -.249 | .002 |
| | Achievement Motivation | .200 | .011 |
| | $R^2 = .32$ | | |
| Model 1 F=3.847 p=.001 Model 2 F=2.837 p=.000 | | | |
| Colombian | Parent-Child Conflict | -.254 | .005 |
| | Achievement Total | .264 | .008 |
| | $R^2 = .36$ | | |
| Model 1 F=1.397 p=.221 Model 2 F=2.683 p=.001 | | | |

Table 4

Means on Relative Importance of Predictors

| Variable | | Private Cuban Mean | N | SD | Public Cuban Mean | N | SD | Mexican Mean | N | SD | Nicaraguan Mean | N | SD | Colombian Mean | N | SD | Total Mean | SD |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Self-Esteem | Female | None | | | 33.4 | 508 | 5.51 | 31.7 | 319 | 5.40 | 33.3 | 167 | 5.38 | 33.7 | 101 | 4.89 | 32.6 | 5.37 |
| | Male | 34.7 | 103 | 4.48 | 34.4 | 416 | 5.12 | 32.1 | 332 | 5.35 | 33.9 | 145 | 4.46 | 33.4 | 92 | 5.52 | 33.2 | 5.22 |
| | Total | 34.7 | 103 | 4.48 | 33.8 | 924 | 5.36 | 32.0 | 651 | 5.37 | 33.6 | 312 | 4.97 | 33.5 | 193 | 5.19 | 32.9 | 5.30 |
| Parent-Child Conflict | Female | None | | | 5.0 | 503 | 1.80 | 5.0 | 317 | 1.90 | 4.9 | 166 | 1.70 | 5.0 | 99 | 1.76 | 5.1 | 1.88 |
| | Male | 4.9 | 103 | 1.55 | 4.8 | 412 | 1.68 | 5.1 | 331 | 1.92 | 4.7 | 143 | 1.68 | 5.0 | 90 | 1.72 | 5.1 | 1.80 |
| | Total | 4.9 | 103 | 1.55 | 4.9 | 915 | 1.75 | 5.0 | 648 | 1.91 | 4.8 | 309 | 1.69 | 5.0 | 189 | 1.74 | 5.1 | 1.84 |
| Depression | Female | None | | | 7.0 | 507 | 2.54 | 7.0 | 319 | 2.70 | 7.6 | 167 | 2.83 | 7.5 | 98 | 2.66 | 7.1 | 2.71 |
| | Male | 6.0 | 103 | 2.31 | 5.8 | 413 | 2.25 | 6.2 | 338 | 2.35 | 5.7 | 144 | 1.94 | 5.7 | 90 | 2.20 | 6.0 | 2.26 |
| | Total | 6.0 | 103 | 2.31 | 6.5 | 920 | 2.48 | 6.6 | 657 | 2.56 | 6.7 | 311 | 2.62 | 6.6 | 188 | 2.60 | 6.6 | 2.56 |
| English Proficiency | Female | None | | | 11.5 | 507 | 1.07 | 10.4 | 319 | 2.07 | 10.9 | 167 | 1.56 | 11.3 | 102 | 1.34 | 11.4 | 1.61 |
| | Male | 11.4 | 103 | 1.17 | 11.4 | 415 | 1.20 | 10.3 | 334 | 1.88 | 10.7 | 145 | 1.75 | 11.0 | 92 | 1.45 | 10.9 | 1.67 |
| | Total | 11.4 | 103 | 1.17 | 11.5 | 922 | 1.13 | 10.4 | 653 | 1.97 | 10.8 | 312 | 1.65 | 11.1 | 194 | 1.40 | 11.0 | 1.64 |
| Grade Point Average | Female | None | | | 2.4 | 501 | .89 | 2.4 | 319 | .79 | 2.4 | 167 | .83 | 2.5 | 99 | .80 | 2.7 | .89 |
| | Male | 2.7 | 101 | .80 | 2.1 | 413 | .93 | 2.0 | 341 | .85 | 2.2 | 145 | .97 | 2.2 | 90 | .81 | 2.4 | .91 |
| | Total | 2.7 | 101 | .80 | 2.2 | 914 | .92 | 2.2 | 660 | .84 | 2.3 | 312 | .90 | 2.4 | 189 | .82 | 2.5 | .91 |
| Total Achievement | Female | None | | | .00 | 508 | .52 | -.28 | 319 | .56 | -.01 | 167 | .51 | .10 | 102 | .56 | .00 | .61 |
| | Male | .66 | 103 | .41 | -.00 | 416 | .57 | -.31 | 341 | .57 | -.01 | 145 | .55 | .00 | 92 | .56 | .00 | .63 |
| | Total | .66 | 103 | .41 | .00 | 924 | .54 | -.30 | 660 | .56 | -.01 | 312 | .53 | .00 | 194 | .56 | .00 | .62 |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Achievement | Female | None | | | .34 | 493 | .88 | -.33 | 298 | 1.10 | .34 | 160 | .82 | .30 | 98 | .81 | .18 | .94 |
| Motivation | Male | .60 | 101 | .64 | .00 | 391 | .94 | -.59 | 317 | 1.04 | -.00 | 141 | 1.03 | .00 | 88 | .86 | -.11 | .98 |
| | Total | .60 | 101 | .64 | .21 | 884 | .92 | -.46 | 615 | 1.08 | .19 | 301 | .94 | .16 | 186 | .85 | .00 | .97 |

Note: Changing N's reflect missing cases.

Table 5

Two-way ANOVAs Results Ethgender Using Selected Predictor Variables

| | Group | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dep.Var. | Private Cuban | Public Cuban | Mexican | Nicaraguan | Colombian |
| Self-Esteem | | | | | |
| Group | F=11.5 | F=38.2 | F=27.2 | F=5.04 | F=2.27 |
| | p=.001** | p=.000*** | p=.000*** | p=.025* | p=.132 |
| Gender | All male | F=15.6 | F=4.60 | F=3.84 | F=.168 |
| | | p=.000*** | P=.032* | P=.050* | P=.682 |
| Parent-Child Conflict | | | | | |
| Group | F=1.18 | F=18.3 | F=1.03 | F=7.37 | F=.437 |
| | P=.277 | P=.000** | P=.310 | P=.000** | P=.509 |
| Gender | All male | F=4.50 | F=0.28 | F=1.46 | F=.259 |
| | | P=.034* | P=.868 | P=.227 | P=.611 |
| Depression | | | | | |
| Group | F=5.64 | F=2.34 | F=.433 | F=.361 | F=.080 |
| | P=.018* | P=.126 | P=.511 | P=.548 | P=.777 |
| Gender | All male | F=140 | F=85.0 | F=91.4 | F=54.4 |
| | | P=.000*** | P=.000** | P=.000*** | P=.000*** |
| English Proficiency | | | | | |
| Group | F=7.24 | F=89.9 | F=122.9 | F=4.32 | F=2.18 |
| | P=.007** | P=.000 | P=.000*** | P=.038* | P=.139 |
| Gender | All male | F=6.20 | F=3.56 | F=3.66 | F=3.54 |
| | | P=.013* | P=.059 | P=.056 | P=.060 |
| Grade Point Average | | | | | |
| Group | F=2.49 | F=134 | F=93.1 | F=20 | F=9.24 |
| | P=.115 | P=.000*** | P=.000*** | P=.000*** | P=.002** |
| Gender | All male | F=74.4 | F=75.0 | F=22.6 | F=21.8 |
| | | P=.000*** | P=.000*** | P=.000*** | P=.000*** |
| Total Achievement | | | | | |
| Group | F=97.4 | F=3.49 | F=247 | F=12.3 | F=.001 |
| | P=.000*** | P=.062 | P=.000*** | P=.000*** | P=.977 |
| Gender | All male | F=1.95 | F=.615 | F=.534 | F=2.44 |
| | | P=.163 | P=.433 | P=.465 | P=.118 |
| Achievement Motivation | | | | | |
| Group | F=34.8 | F=31.5 | F=197 | F=7.96 | F=2.76 |
| | P=.000*** | P=.000*** | P=.000*** | P=.005** | P=.097 |
| Gender | All male | F=62.5 | F=41.9 | F=27.8 | F=16.5 |
| | | P=.000*** | P=.000*** | P=.000*** | P=.000*** |

Note: Interactions can be seen in Table 3

Table 6

Two Way ANOVA Interactions of Four Spanish-Speaking Groups and Gender Using Selected Predictor Variables As Dependents

| Variable | | PubCuban*gender | Mexican*gender | Nicaraguan*gender | Colombian*gender |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Self-Esteem | F = | 1.85 | .62 | .01 | 1.42 |
| | p = | .17 | .43 | .93 | .23 |
| Parent-Child | F= | 2.26 | 1.28 | .32 | .00 |
| Conflict | p= | .13 | .26 | .57 | .95 |
| Depression | F= | 0.76 | 1.06 | 7.98 | 3.64 |
| | p= | .38 | .30 | .00* | .06 |
| English | F= | .16 | .50 | .01 | .20 |
| Proficiency | p= | .69 | .48 | .94 | .66 |
| Grade Point | F= | 1.98 | 1.27 | 1.33 | .02 |
| Average | p= | .16 | .26 | .25 | .88 |
| Achievement | F= | .13 | .07 | .14 | .02 |
| Motivation | p= | .72 | .79 | .71 | .90 |
| Total | F= | .62 | .20 | .03 | 1.50 |
| Achievement | p= | .43 | .65 | .85 | .22 |